

Message Text

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ACTION NEA-12

INFO OCT-01 IO-14 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-07 H-03 INR-10

L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-07 PA-04 RSC-01 PRS-01 SPC-03 SS-20

USIA-15 AID-20 SAJ-01 IGA-02 DEAE-00 JUSE-00 SNM-02

SY-10 TRSE-00 SCI-06 OMB-01 AGR-20 DRC-01 /164 W

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P R 160652Z MAR 74

FM AMEMBASSY ANKARA

TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 3222

INFO AMCONSUL ADANA

AMCONSUL ISTANBUL

AMCONSUL IZMIR

USMISSION GENEVA

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 3 ANKARA 1969

E.O. 11652: N/A

TAG: SNAR, TU

SUBJECT: MEETING OF CONGRESSMEN WOLFF AND RANGEL WITH
FONMIN GUNES

SUMMARY: THE ESSENCE OF THE MARCH 15 MEETING WITH FONMIN
GUNES AND CONGRESSMEN WOLFF AND RANGEL IS SUMMARIZED
IN COMMENT AT CONCLUSION THIS MESSAGE. END SUMMARY

1. MORNING MARCH 15, I ACCOMPANIED CONGRESSMEN LESTER
WOLFF AND CHARLES RANGEL TO MEETING WITH FONMIN GUNES.
AFTER TELEVISION AND PRESS CAMERAMEN HAD LEFT ROOM, FONMIN
WELCOMED CONGRESSMEN, SAYING THAT WHILE I WAS OFFICIAL REPRESENT-
ATIVE AND SPOKESMAN FOR USG ON THIS MATTER, HE THOUGHT IT HELPFUL
TO BOTH GOVERNMENTS TO HAVE AS WIDE DIALOGUE ON THIS SUBJECT
AS POSSIBLE. BOTH CONGRESSMEN EXPRESSED THEIR REGRET OVER
INACCURATE PUBLICITY SURROUNDING PURPOSE OF THEIR TRIP
AND NOTED THEIR APPRECIATION FOR OPPORTUNITY TO MEET WITH FONMIN,
ESPECIALLY ON SUCH SHORT NOTICE. THEY STRESSED THEY CAME
AS FRIENDS TO LEARN MORE OF TURKISH POINT OF VIEW ABOUT A
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PROBLEM OF GREAT CONCERN TO BOTH COUNTRIES.

2. CONGRESSMAN WOLFF LED OFF BY ASKING ABOUT THE IMPLEMENTATION OF THE AGREEMENT REACHED BY AMBASSADOR HANDLEY AND THE ERIM GOVT. HE WONDERED WETHER ANYTHING HAD BEEN REMISS IN THE IMPLEMENTATION OF THIS AGREEMENT WHICH WOULD HAVE LED TO THE RESCINDING OF THE AGREEMENT. HE NOTED RESCINDING WOULD INEVITABLY UNDERMINE THE GOOD RELATIONS BETWEEN OUR TWO COUNTRIES, RELATIONS TO WHICH HE ATTACHED THE UTMOST IMPORTANCE.

3. GUNES DID NOT RESPOND DIRECTLY TO THIS QUESTION, ALTHOUGH MUCH LATER IN THE CONVERSATION HE INDICATED THAT HE WAS NOT AN EXPERT ON THE IMPLEMENTATING STEPS THAT HAD ACTUALLY BEEN TAKEN IN THE POPPY AREAS. THEREFORE THE ONLY COMMENT HE COULD MAKE ON THIS SUBJECT WAS TO QUOTE A PASSAGE IN THE 1973 INCB REPORT WHICH STATED THAT THE PROBLEM OF BRINGING NEW CROPS, NEW REVENUES, NEW WAYS OF LIFE TO THE FORMER TURKISH POPPY GROWING AREAS WAS AN ENORMOUS ONE.

4. GUNES SAID THAT HE WOULD LIKE AT THE OUTSET TO STATE HIS POSITION ON THIS SUBJECT. FIRST OF ALL, HE WAS FULLY AWARE OF THE HARMFUL EFFECTS OF THE NARCOTICS PROBLEM "CERTAINLY IN THE US, BUT IN MANY OTHER COUNTRIES AS WELL." TURKEY WAS QUITE PREPARED TO MINIMIZE "THIS GREAT CATASTROPHE IN THE WORLD." HE ADDED HOWEVER, "WHEN WE REVIEW THIS MATTER WITH THE US, IT IS NOT BECAUSE OF A LEGALLY BINDING AGREEMENT BETWEEN US, BUT BECAUSE FIRST OF ALL HEROIN IS A CATASTROPHE FOR HUMANITY AND SECOND BECAUSE WE ASSOCIATE SUCH IMPORTANCE TO OUR RELATIONS WITH THE U.S.".

5. HE WENT ON TO SAY THAT, IN HIS VIEWS, THERE ARE TWO FACETS TO THE PROBLEM -- POLITICAL ON THE ONE HAND, AND ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL ON THE OTHER. THE QUESTIONS WHICH MUST BE ANSWERED WERE WHETHER BANNING WAS THE ONLY SOLUTION TO ILLICIT TRAFFIC OR WHETHER CULTIVATION CAN BE CARRIED OUT IN SUCH A WAY AS TO PREVENT ILLICIT TRAFFIC. ALSO, THE QUESTION HAD TO BE ANSWERED AS TO WHETHER BANNING HAD AN ADVERSE ECONOMIC EFFECT ON THE FARMERS IN THE AREA. MOREOVER, ON THE POLITICAL SIDE, GUNES STRESSED

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THAT BOTH TURKEY AND THE US HAVE GOVERNMENTS CHOSEN BY THE PEOPLE AND THAT PUBLIC OPINION THEREFORE CARRIES GREAT WEIGHT IN GOVERNMENT DECISIONS. HE NOTED THAT THE PROBLEM OF OPIUM PRODUCTION IN THE TWO COUNTRIES HAD BEEN EVALUATED BY PUBLIC

OPINION IN QUITE DIFFERENT WAYS BECAUSE IT WAS BEING OBSERVED

FROM QUITE DIFFERENT VANTAGE POINTS. HE EXPRESSED CONCERN THAT IN THE PAST THE MASS MEDIA OF THE U.S. HAD ALLEGED THAT TURKISH PRODUCTION WAS RESPONSIBLE FOR AS HIGH AS 80 PERCENT OF THE HEROIN WHICH WAS ENTERING THE U.S. HE PERSONALLY DID NOT BELIEVE THAT FIGURE, BUT NEVERTHELESS IT WAS OBVIOUSLY CLEAR THAT TURKEY HAD BEEN RESPONSIBLE FOR PART OF THE HEROIN WHICH ENTERED THE U.S. HE EXPRESSED THE VIEW THAT THIS PART, HOWEVER, WAS A RALATIVELY SMALL PERCENTAGE OF TOTAL U.S. IMPORTS. NEVERTHELESS, HE CONCEDED, WHATEVER THE PERCENTAGE INVOLVED, TURKISH SURVEILLANCE HAD NOT BEEN SUFFICIENT IN THE PAST. THE RESULT OF ALL THESE FACTORS HAD BEEN THE BANNING OF POPPY CULTIVATION IN TURKEY. THIS HAD BEEN DONE BY A GOVERNMENT NOT IN OFFICE THROUGH NORMAL DEMOCRATIC PROCESSES AND THEREFORE BY A GOVERNMENT WHICH WAS NOT AS RESPONSIVE TO THE VIEWS OF THE PEOPLE AS A DEMOCRATICALLY ELECTED GOVERNMENT WOULD BE. FURTHERMORE, THE IMPRESSION AT THE TIME WAS THAT THE DECISION HAD BEEN BULLDOZED THROUGH BY U.S. PRESSURE. THE ERIM GOVERNMENT HAD NOT EXPLAINED THE DIMENSIONS OF THE PROBLEM TO THE WORLD OR TO THE AMERICAN PEOPLE. HE NEXT STRESSED THAT IN LAST FALL'S ELECTION, EVERY PARTY IN TURKEY CAME OUT FOR RESCINDING THE BAN (HE NEGLECTED TO MENTION THAT THE JUSTICE PARTY HAD FAIRLYWELL RESERVED ITS POSITION ON THIS POINT).

6. CONGRESSMAN RANGEL INTERJECTED TO ASK WHETHER THE MAIN MOTIVATION OF THESE PARTY POSITIONS HAD BEEN TO DEMONSTRATE INDEPENDENCE OF THE U.S. GUNES RESPONDED IN THE NEGATIVE. HE SAID AT THE TIME THE BAN HAD BEEN ESTABLISHED IT HAD NOT BEEN THE POLITICAL PARTIES, BUT RATHER THE "LEFTIST PRESS", WHICH HAD MADE A MAJOR ISSUE OVER U.S. PRESSURE. HE ABDED THAT HIS OWN PARTY HAD NOT BEEN AS OUTSPOKEN ON THIS SUBJECT AS THE OTHER PARTIES PRIMARILY BECAUSE OF THE HEAVY STRESS IT PLACED ON THE FACT THAT HUMANITARIAN CONSIDERATIONS MUST ALSO BE GIVEN GREAT WEIGHT AS THE POPPY BAN DECISION

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WAS BEING REVIEWED. GUNES THEN DEVELOPED ONCE AGAIN THE THEME WITH WHICH THE DEPARTMENT HAS NOW BECOME FAMILIAR. HE SAID THAT THE ERIM GOVERNMENT, NOT BEING RESPONSIVE TO THE NORMAL DEMOCRATIC PROCESSES, HAD MADE THE DECISION TO BAN POPPIES LOOK MUCH EASIER THAN IT IN FACT WAS. HE SAID THAT THIS IN TURN HAD MISLED THE AMERICAN PEOPLE INTO THINKING THAT WITH A FEW ECONOMIC PROJECTS IN THE FORMER POPPY AREAS, THE PROBLEM WOULD DISAPPEAR.

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USMISSION GENEVA

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 2 OF 3 ANKARA 1969

7. CONGRESSMAN WOLFF COMMENTED THAT THE 80 PERCENT ISSUE TO WHICH GUNES ALLUDED WAS IRRELEVANT -- THE BASIC FACTS BEING THAT AS A RESULT OF THE BAN THERE WAS NOW A MARKED SHORTAGE IN THE AVAILABILITY OF HEROIN IN THE US, AND THAT THE PRICE HAD MARKEDLY INCREASED. HAVING TURNED THE CORNER IN THIS VITALLY IMPORTANT FIGHT, THE US NOW SAW A TREMENDOUS OBSTACLE BEING PLACED BEFORE IT, IF TURKEY SHOULD RESCIND THE BAN. WOLFF SAID HE WOULD NOT DWELL ON THE MORAL ASPECTS OF THE HEROIN PROBLEM AS THESE WERE WELL-KNOWN TO THE MINISTER. INSTEAD, HE WISHED TO STRESS THAT 70-90 PERCENT OF THE CRIME IN THE US WAS DRUG-RELATED. IN A VERY REAL SENSE OF THE WORD, THE US WAS ENGAGED IN A WAR; WE HAVE URBAN GUERRILLAS WHO ARE DRUG ADDICTS. HE STRESSED THEREFORE THAT HEROIN WAS NOT ONLY A PROBLEM THAT COULD PENETRATE EACH FAMILY, BUT IT WAS ALSO IN A VERY REAL WAY AS IF WE WERE BEING ATTACKED BY A FOREIGN ARMY. HE SAID HE HAD COME HERE NOT TO THREATEN, BUT TO ASK FOR HELP. HE SAID THIS NARCOTICS PROBLEM WAS DESTROYING THE VERY ROOT AND STRENGTH OF AMERICA, IN JUST AS DEVASTATING A WAY AS IF THIS STRENGTH BEING DESTROYED BY AN ACTUAL MILITARY ATTACK FROM ABROAD. IF TURKEY WERE ATTACKED BY A FOREIGN FORCE, WE WOULD COME TO HER HELP.

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WE ARE BEING ATTACKED BY AN EQUALLY SERIOUS FORCE AND WE ARE

ASKING FOR TURKEY'S HELP. A REVERSAL OF THE POPPY BAN WILL BE THE OPPOSITE OF HELP. A REVERSAL MEANS THAT TRAFFICKERS CAN HOPE TO REVIVE ONCE AGAIN THE SO-CALLED TURKISH-FRENCH CONNECTION. THE APPARATUS TO DO THIS IS STILL AVAILABLE, AS WE KNOW FROM INTELLIGENCE SOURCES.

8. WOLFF AGREED THAT THE QUESTION OF PUBLIC OPINION WAS IMPORTANT. WHEN STORIES BEGAN APPEARING IN THE AMERICAN PAPERS THAT TURKEY WAS CONSIDERING RESCINDING THE BAN, THE AMERICAN PEOPLE HAD BECOME VERY DISTURBED THAT THEIR HOMES WERE BEING THREATENED IN THIS WAY. HE ADDED THAT IT WOULD BE VERY DIFFICULT TO VOTE RESOURCES TO TURKEY UNDER SUCH CIRCUMSTANCES. IN THIS CONNECTION, HE FURTHER NOTED THAT DURING THE HEIGHT OF THE VIETNAM WAR, WHEN THAILAND WAS CRUCIAL TO OUR EFFORT THERE, THE FOREIGN AFFAIRS COMMITTEE HAD ADOPTED AN AMENDMENT WHICH WOULD DENY AID TO THAILAND BECAUSE THAT GOVT'S POLICY HAD BEEN UNHELPFUL IN CONNECTION WITH OUR BATTLE AT HOME AGAINST THE NARCOTICS PROBLEM. WOLFF ADDED THAT IT WAS HIS IMPRESSION THAT THE NEARBY POPPY FARMERS HAD NOT GOTTEN ALL THE HELP THEY DESERVED AND HE WOULD LIKE TO DO ALL

THAT HE COULD TO HELP THEM.

9. CONGRESSMAN RANGEL, AFTER APOLOGIZING FOR APPEARING TO HAVE THE MINISTER AT A TWO TO ONE DISADVANTAGE, STRONGLY SUPPORTED CONGRESSMAN WOLFF'S REMARKS. HE ALSO EMPHASIZED THAT THE TWO CONGRESSMEN HAD NOT COME TO TURKEY TO "MAKE THREATS OR SHAKE SWORDS." IF THIS HAD BEEN THEIR PURPOSE, THEY COULD HAVE DONE THAT FROM WASHINGTON. HE SAID THE AMERICAN PEOPLE WERE MADE TO UNDERSTAND THAT AN AGREEMENT WAS REACHED BETWEEN THE GOVERNMENTS OF TURKEY AND THE U.S. REGARDING A BAN ON POPPY PRODUCTION AND THAT WE COULD NOT ACCEPT THE VIEW THAT THE AGREEMENT WAS NO LONGER VALID SIMPLY BECAUSE A NEW GOVERNMENT HAD COME TO POWER. HE SAID THAT IT WAS CLEAR THAT THERE WERE IMPORTANT POLITICAL AND SOCIAL EFFECTS OF THE BAN IN BOTH TURKEY AND THE U.S. BUT THAT IN THE U.S., THERE WAS THE ADDED FACTOR OF "DEATH" THAT HAD TO BE CAREFULLY WEIGHED IN ANY BALANCING OF THE RESPECTIVE CONSEQUENCES TO THE TWO COUNTRIES. AS A FORMER PUBLIC PROSECUTOR, HE HAD HAD EXTENSIVE DEALING WITH DRUG-CONNECTED CRIME.
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TURKEY'S GOING BACK INTO POPPY PRODUCTION, EVEN UNDER CONTROLLED CONDITIONS, COULD ONLY MEAN THAT THIS WOULD LEAD TO "CONTROLLED DEATH" IN HIS OWN DISTRICT, WHICH HE NOTED LEADS THE NATION IN DRUG ADDICTS AND DRUG-RELATED CRIMES.

10. CONGRESSMAN RANGEL SAID HE DID NOT WISH TO POINT A FINGER AT TURKEY; HE FREELY ADMITTED THAT TURKISH FARMERS DID NOT BENEFIT IN ANY SIGNIFICANT WAY FROM THIS ILLICIT

TRAFFIC AND NEITHER CERTAINLY DID THE TURKISH GOVT. NOR DID EITHER THE TURKISH GOVT OR PEOPLE MAKE OUR PEOPLE TAKE DRUGS. "WE ARE NOT SAYING SUCH THINGS," HE CONCLUDED, "WE ARE ASKING THAT YOU DO ALL YOU CAN TOHELP US WITH OUR PROBLEM."

11. RANGEL ADDED THAT HE DID NOT KNOW WHAT MORE COULD OR SHOULD BE DONE FOR TURKISH FARMERS, OR HOW THE PROBLEM OF POPPIES CAN BE HANDLED WITHOUT AFFRONTING THE INTEGRITY AND SOVERIEGNTY OF TURKEY, BUT HE DID KNOW THAT, "ON OUR SIDE OF THE OCEAN, WE ARE DEALING WITH A TERRIBLE THREAT TO LIFE ITSELF." WITH THIS AS A BACKGROUND, "WE COME TO YOU AS POLITICIANS TO SEE WHAT WE CAN DO TO RESOLVE OUR MUTUALPROBLEM."

12. GUNES RESPONDED BY NOTING THAT LIKE HIS TWO VISITORS, HE KNEW WHAT IT WAS TOCOME TO OFFICE ON THE BASIS OF VOTE. HE THEN EMPHASIZED THAT BOTH THE GOVT AND PEOPLE OF TURKEY DID NOT HAVE A FAVORABLE FEELING TOWARD NARCOTCS OF NARCOTICS TRAFFICKERS AND THAT THAT WAS WHY TURKEY'S LAWS WERE SO STRICT. HE ADDED THAT THIS INTURN HAD CASED CONSIDERABLE DIFFICULTY FOR A NUMBER OF AMERICANS NOW IN TURKISH JAILS. (HE OBSERVED THAT HE HAD BEEN TALKING WITH ME ABOUT THIS SUBJECT AND ADDED THAT HE WAS STILL HOPING TO FIND A SOLUTION.)

13. GUNES NEXT POINTED OUT THAT A BILL CALLING FOR THE RESCINDING OF THE POPPY BAN HAD BEEN INTRODUCED IN PARLIAMENT AND SO FAR HAD 176 SPONSORS. HE SAID THAT "IF MY GOVT GOES BEFORE PARLIAMENT AND IN AN OBJECTIVE WASY STATES THAT WE ARE GOING TO MAINTAIN THE POPPY BAN, AND THAT OUR AMERICAN FRIENDS HAVE KINDLY AGREED TO HELU US FURTHER TO REMEDY THE ECONOMIC DEFICIENCIES CAUSED BY THE BAN, WHAT WOULD IMMEDIATELY HAPPEN WOULD BE ONE OR TWO THINGS." HE SAID THAT EITHER THE GOVT WOULD IMMEDIATELY FALL OR THE BILL RESCINDING THE BAN WOULD BE PASSED AT ONCE DESPITE GOVT'S OPPOSITION.

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14. RANGEL INTERJECTED TO ASK WHETHER SUCH A VOTE WAS LIKELYTO TAKE PLACE SOON. GUNES STRESSED THAT THE GOVERNMENT WAS TRYING VERY HARD TO KEEP THE ISSUE FROM COMING TO THE PARLIAMENT AND TO KEEP TEMPERS COOL. HE ADDED THAT THE GOT WAS ALSO CONSCIOUSLY TRYING TO KEEP THE PROBLEM FROM GETTING ESCALATING PRESS ATTENTION.

15. HE WENT ON TO SAY THAT HE FULLY APPRECIATED THE CONCERN THE TWO CONGRESSMEN HAD EXPRESSEDREGARDING THE POTENTIAL ADVERSE CONSEQUENCES OF THIS ISSUE ON AMERICAN PUBLIC AND CONGRESSIONAL OPINION. HE WAS ACUTELY AWARE THAT THE SAME THING WAS TRUE WITH REGARD TOTURKISH AND PARLIAMENTARY OPINION. FOR THIS REASON IT WAS CLEAR THAT A PRECIPITOUS DECISION WAS MOST UNDESIRABLE. THEREFORE, HE HAD BEEN TRYING TO SLOW DOWN DECISION

UNTIL SUCH TIME AS THERE COULD BE A FULLER UNDERSTANDING OF THE
PROBLEM AND A FULLER OPPORTUNITY TO ARRIVE AT A MUTUALLY

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